241 not common and only wealthy families can afford to keep a
233 herd of cattle or sheep. The general belief that the Lolo are a nomadic tribe is erroneous.

567 Agriculture and grazing will be discussed more fully in Chapter 6, "Economic Life." Here mention will be made only of family labor connected with these occupations. In a
[356] Lolo family, all housework is done by slaves under the supervision of the black Lolo master. Every black Lolo family has several household slaves called kuo-chuang wa-tzu [lit., "stove slaves"], who are white Lolo or Han-Chinese. These slaves
[592] live in the master's house, do housework for him, and are indebted to him for all their food and clothing. They own no property, but are themselves considered a part of their master's property. He can sell them whenever he pleases. The white Lolo who are not household slaves have their own dwelling places, land, cattle, and other property. Sometimes they also have Han-Chinese as slaves to work for them. On the other hand, they have to take orders from their black Lolo masters and perform duties for them. The white Lolo are never completely freed from the slave status.

512 In a Lolo household, both master and slaves rise early
[515] in the morning. They wipe their eyes clean with their hands, but do not wash their faces. The male slaves who tend cattle and sheep lead them up the mountain to graze, while those who farm take their tools to the field to plow or weed. Farming
[241 is a joint effort of husband and wife, who often work together
462] shoulder to shoulder in the field. In sowing, plowing, or harvesting, [43] men and women both participate. The herders usually take corn cakes made the night before to eat on the mountain. The farm workers generally return to the house for breakfast at about 10 o'clock, after which they do not go out to work again. Sometimes they stay home in the morning and go
241 to the field after breakfast. The Lolo do not engage in intensive farming. Though uncultivated lands lie everywhere in Liang Shan, the Lolo are not interested in developing them for cultivation. They are satisfied with having just enough food for family consumption.

[264] They have two meals, one in the morning and the other in the evening, but no regular mealtime. The preparation of
● 252 food is the duty of female household slaves. Dried corn or buckwheat, doled out to them from storage by the mistress of the house, is first ground into flour on the grindstone. After the stove is lighted, the flour is poured into an iron caldron, mixed with water and boiled, and then taken out and put into a round, flat-bottomed basket. The dough is kneaded into round

252 cakes, called corn cake or buckwheat cake. The cakes have to be steamed again in the iron pan before they can be eaten. In addition, an auxiliary dish of sour vegetable soup is served for an ordinary daily meal; sometimes boiled potatoes or bean curd mixed with a green vegetable are added for a comparatively abundant meal.

264 415 In eating, the food is first served to the black Lolo master seated on the left side or to the rear of the cooking stove. The Lolo serve corn cakes in bamboo baskets and the sour vegetable soup in small round wooden pails. In each pail is placed ma-shih-tzu, a special utensil having the same function as a spoon. The ma-shih-tzu is made of wood with a handle a foot long and an oval-shaped shallow bowl about three inches in diameter. The Lolo hold the cake in both hands while eating, 264 and as they eat, they ladle up soup with a ma-shih-tzu held in 567 the right hand and then drink from it. In a black Lolo family, husband, wife, and children all sit around the stove to eat, but they do not sit or eat together with the white Lolo slaves. This is due to the custom of separation for the two groups, a tradition too strong to be broken. Moreover, the white Lolo can only sit in front or on the right side of the stove when they eat. They are forbidden to sit at the rear side of the stove, which is reserved for honored guests, or on the left where the master sits and rests.

264 Not only are black Lolo and white Lolo separated in eating and drinking, but relatives of different sexes who have to observe the custom of avoidance do not eat together. As 574 mentioned before, the Lolo practice the small family system, but they are very solicitous and attentive in entertaining guests. When relatives come for a visit, they are always entertained with a meal, and even a Lolo stranger is invited to it. Father- 606 in-law and daughter-in-law, because of avoidance, cannot eat at the same table; this is also true of mother-in-law and son-in-law. Younger brother and elder sister-in-law can talk and 607 communicate with each other, but elder brother and younger sister-in-law must also observe avoidance. Li-ch'ü Ku-p'u, who is 28 years old, is younger than Ta-chi, but being the grandson of Ta-chi's grandfather's elder brother, he becomes, according to Lolo tradition, Ta-chi's elder brother. One day when Ku-p'u came to visit Ta-chi at his home, [44] the author observed that Ta-chi, Ku-p'u, and Ta-chi's daughter ate together, while Ta-chi's wife, nee En-cha, and her younger son ate separately from the group.

574 When our inspection team traveled in Liang Shan, we always stayed and had meals with the Lolo. The noble black

574 Lolo families would kill chicken and sheep to entertain us.
[231] Instead of stabbing the chicken with a knife, they would wring its neck with their hands until it suffocated to death. After
252 having seared off its feathers over a fire, they would boil it, roast it, or make soup with it. If they killed a sheep, they
[281] would always flay the skin very dexterously and use it to make a tobacco pouch or bag. The meat is carved into large pieces and cooked together with the bones. Only a little salt is added
[263] so that the taste is extremely light. As salt is very scarce in the region, the Lolo consider it as something precious. They
264 serve mutton in a broad-mouthed and flat-bottomed wooden
[415] bowl, often painted with pictures. The Lolo sit on the floor when eating. Rich black Lolo families would entertain their
[352] honored guests around a small round wooden table, about a half foot from the ground and two feet in diameter. At a feast given us by Ta-chi's family, they used this kind of small table on which were placed mutton, rice, and other food. The Lolo did not eat with us. At every meal there were four groups: the members of the inspection team, considered as honored guests, formed a group at the rear side of the stove; the black Lolo master and his family lined up on the left side; the hired laborers of our team, including the Han-Chinese or Lolo carriers, formed another group on the right side; the last group consisted of the black Lolo's household slaves. The last two groups might mingle with one another, but the hosts and guests always formed separate groups and never mixed with the white Lolo or the household slaves. From the Lolo point of view, members of the inspection team were equal to Chinese nobles and had the same status as the black Lolo.

574 According to Lolo custom, the food should not be en-
[264] joyed alone, but by all who belong to the household, even the slaves. Every time the Lolo killed a sheep to entertain us, it was shared by ten and more persons so that after the meal nothing was left of the animal. At the end of each meal they
[521] would sit around the stove and talk for a long while before dispersing. They engage in an almost endless conversation when there are guests to be entertained or when neighbors come to call after the master has just returned from a trip. When Ta-chi accompanied us to the village of San-ho-i-ta, visitors came almost continuously for the first day. Ta-chi would en-
273 tertain them all with wine, using wooden bowls as wine cups. The Lolo are fond of drinking, which has become a habit. Whether men or women, old or young, they all have a large capacity and can empty several cups at one draught. While distilled liquor is imported from the Han-Chinese region, the

243 Shan region. Weeding and fertilizing come to an end after two to three months when the corn stalks begin to shoot up. Then a constant watch is set up over the fields to keep wild or domestic animals from trampling on the corn and also to prevent its destruction and burning by enemies. An important factor for the growth of corn is the weather, as rain is needed from time to time. In a drought year the pi-mu is invited to pray for rain to spur growth. The corn ripens in the eighth month when it is time for harvest. With bamboo baskets on their backs, men and women line up in the field to pick and gather the corn into the baskets. The corn is brought back to the [251] house and dried in the sun, after which the grains are removed from the cob and stored in the master's bedroom. [252 Every day corn is freshly ground to flour to make corn cakes, 262] which constitute the main food.

[372] After harvest, the corn stalks are cut for fuel for household use, while the stumps and roots are left to rot in the field. In a comparatively good field, it takes little re- 244 conditioning before garden peas, beans, and sometimes wheat can be planted. These are harvested in the third month of the next year after winter is over. Peas and wheat are both pulled up by the root. By that time the roots of the corn have already rotted and both men and women return once more to the field to weed and to loosen the soil in preparation for the next round of corn planting.

243 The fields surrounding the village, because of their [311 fertilized soil, are mostly planted with corn. On the moun- 262] tain slopes buckwheat is planted. It is also an important food of the Lolo, especially in the Ta-liang Shan area, where more buckwheat is produced than corn. There are two kinds of buckwheat: the sweet and the bitter. The sweet buckwheat is not necessarily sweet whereas the bitter buckwheat is quite bitter. Both are unpleasant in taste. The area for planting buckwheat was originally a wild tract covered with dense undergrowth. To cultivate it, the bushes are set afire and reduced to ashes; then the soil is loosened with ox plows for seeding. There are two buckwheat crops each year. For the first season, seeding starts in the second month in early spring. After planting, the field is again worked over with ox plows and then left alone [65] until harvest in the fourth or fifth month. For the second season, seeds are sown in the seventh month and crops harvested in the ninth. After several years, the soil begins to deteriorate and the field is discarded for a new tract of burned land on the slopes. This method of cultivation, mentioned in the gazetteers as the slash-and-burn method, is of a rather primitive kind.

241 Besides corn and buckwheat, other agricultural products include oats, potatoes, green vegetables, and turnips, each of which has its proper harvest season. Among them, [252] oats are considered the most precious. The Lolo usually grind them into flour and mix it with water to eat on a trip. Potatoes are produced in large quantities to be used as auxiliary food.

241 Lolo agriculture is aimed at self-sufficiency only. 461 The people will be quite satisfied if production each year is 311 enough to meet the demands of consumption. The Lolo do not work hard on the farms, nor do they want to expand the cultivated acreage or to improve agricultural techniques. So the good earth of Liang Shan still remains a tract of barren land.

[423] Every Lolo family has its own cultivated field, which 237 constitutes its basic property. The wealth of a black Lolo 556 household, however, is measured by the herd of animals it owns. Animals are also raised by the rich white Lolo. Domesticated 233 animals consist largely of sheep and goats, pastured by house- 343 hold slaves. The sheep pen is inside the walls of the house but sometimes also outside as a separate unit. In spring and summer when the weather becomes warm, a round bamboo stable is built on the mountain slope outside the village to house the flocks of sheep. These are watched over day and night by household slaves. Besides grazing, the sheep are fed salt water twice or thrice a month to stimulate the growth of wool, used mainly as material for making capes. Shearing is performed three times a year between the third and tenth month; 236 the wool cut in the third month is the best in quality. In the 527 hot seventh month, people from villages in different places 571 drive their flocks to Huang-mao Kang, partly to cool off and partly to cut the wool. At that time different clans and villages assemble to feast and play together after shearing. They exchange gifts and food, trade or barter, and talk and laugh in these semisocial gatherings. It is a very grand affair, popularly called the "wool fair."

231 Pigs are also raised in flocks of ten or more and tended by female household slaves, but pig breeding is not as [237 popular as sheep breeding. After the pigs are killed, the 439] bristles are shaved off from head and body for export to the Han-Chinese territory.

The Lolo also raise the common yellow oxen in herds of as many as several dozens. They are driven to the pastures outside the village in the early morning and returned to the stable in the evening. The oxen can be used for plowing and are more expensive than sheep and pigs. The Lolo do not

5: Pollard M-5 (no date) 1921 AE4 Lolo AE4

the fire to burn itself clean, and the legs were given to the children. I was told the children always had the legs as their perquisite. They burnt these in the fire until the hair was all gone and the meat was warmed through, and then ate them with great relish. Not a trace of salt did they have with the burnt legs. Presently one of the men brought over the lungs, heart, kidneys, etc., and burnt these for a very short time in the ashes of the wood fire. They were then taken out, cut up into pieces, put on a wooden trencher with a high stand and presented to Mr Long and me. This was a mark of respect to us, and there was no way out of it. Mr Long was quite ready to partake of the dish, and I imitated him. The half-cooked, saltless meat was very sweet and had quite a flavour of its own. When one had overcome one's first reluctance there was nothing to find fault with.

It is considered the correct thing to kill the supper animal in the presence of the guest. The guest then knows for a certainty that it is for his particular benefit that the animal has been prepared, and he can also be sure that the goat is not a diseased one and that the meat is not some old remains which a former guest has been unable to eat. If a second party of guests arrives on the same day a second animal is killed and cooked with the same ceremony.

At twenty minutes to eight the meat had been all cut up, and it was all placed in the huge pan of boiling water over the wood fire. All the meat is cooked at once, and if possible eaten at the one meal. Nothing should be left over. The host wants it to be known that he is caring only for his guest and is not thinking at all about his own needs. While the meat was cooking one of the household girls every now and again turned it over with a large wooden spoon. The spoon

5: Pollard M-5 (no date) 1921 AE4 Lolo AE4

[252] [415] 574 was more than two feet in length and about ten inches wide in the ladle. It would have made a magnificent jam spoon.

At the prospect of supper before long everybody began to feel more comfortable and to brighten up considerably. The girls and women of the household were quite friendly, and very willing to explain anything they were doing or to show me anything they were using. Conversation became brisk, and every now and again, at some funny remark, rows of beautifully white teeth that set one longing for a similar set smiled in a fascinating way. It was nice to see that the women were frank and open and not afflicted with a false shyness. In China it is most disconcerting to have nearly all the women turn their faces aside if you address them on any subject, and, if they should be young women, perhaps look black, in addition, and refuse to answer you. These Nosu women will smile and look you square in the face as if you were one of their own family. An experience like that reminds one of home, and brings a very comforting feeling to one.

[291] The lady of the house had a large cloak of sheep's fur, worn fur outwards, over her clothes. She was a widow, and conducted herself with great kindness and dignity. What she really thought inside I do not know, but I fancy she felt we were doing her a kindness in coming to visit her. These people do not like to be left alone, and the number and rank of their guests show the rank they hold in the social scale. This horror of being left alone is common to al' peoples in China. There is a great longing for company, and "cold loneliness," as it is termed, is the state detested most of all.

Just before the meat was considered sufficiently cooked

Wan-shih-p'ing is situated on the road from the Mo-shih chia to O-pien. Mr. Ch'ang Lung-ch'ing, in the twenty-third year of the Chinese Republic /1934/, passed it on his way to O-pien and discovered that the "famous" Wan-shih-p'ing was but a large stretch of wild forest; not only were there no riches and fertile rice fields, but there were not even people and dwellings. All these rumors are a myth. 133

The high altitude and cold weather of Liang-shan restrict sowing to a limited quantity of red rice in a few areas--along the banks of the Mei-ku and Hsi-ch'i rivers, and at Chu-heh-pa-tzu. The I are not as fond of rice as the Chinese and therefore it does not occupy an important place among the cereals consumed by them. Even in rice producing districts, it is often stored up to be sold to the Chinese, or served as a treat for the "Han-chia Sepo." The Lolo's principal food consists of three kinds of cereals: buckwheat, oats and corn, and of potatoes. Corn grows in regions where the sea-level is comparatively not high (mostly less than 1,700 meters above sea-level), and oats on high mountains (generally more than 2,500 meters above sea-level). Buckwheat alone can be grown almost anywhere in the Liang-shan region, except on the fringes of the lowlands, and is therefore more important than either corn or oats. Buckwheat and corn are prepared as food by being ground into flour from which pa-pa /buns/ are made. There is sweet and bitter buckwheat, of which the former is more expensive; buns made from the latter have a slightly bitter taste. In areas where oats are grown, buckwheat is the food of the common folk while oats are that of the nobility. Oats are eaten differently from buckwheat or corn, but in the same manner as barley is among the Tibetans. The method is first to fry the oats in a pan, and then to grind them into a flour called "ch'ao-mien" /fried flour/, a product similar to the tsamba /parched barley flour/ used by the Tibetans. It is then mixed with water and served as food in the same way as tsamba, except that the mixture is made with unboiled water instead of tea. Potatoes, which were introduced into Liang-shan only about twenty years ago, are already one of the important food products today. When we traveled through Liang-shan in the summer, we found that eating buckwheat buns and potatoes all day long made life quite monotonous and difficult. (Buns made from sweet buckwheat are slighty sweet and somewhat better than those made from bitter buckwheat, but the former grows only in the lower regions, and the latter

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The Lolo use extremely simple implements and have hardly any furniture in their rooms. Wooden objects such as beds, chairs, tables and stools are nonexistent in the I region. The only furniture--generally found in the home of the well-to-do Heh-I--consists of one or two wooden cupboards, in which are kept containers for ch'ao-mien, wooden bowls used at meals, and other articles of daily use, as well as things which they regard as family heirloom (such as certificates of award given by the government.) Close to the back wall of the center room there is a huo-k'ang /stove/, which is generally square and sometimes slightly oblong, though there are also round-shaped ones. Three stones forming a triangle and set within the huo-k'ang constitute what is called kuo-chuang, upon which a large iron pot is placed. The Lolo and the Tibetans use the same equipment for their kuo-chuang, but while the latter use an iron tripod to support the pot, the former use three pieces of stone, irregular in size in the ordinary I family but regular and attractively carved with designs and ornaments in the family of the well-to-do Heh-I. Furthermore, the Tibetans use their pot only for boiling tea to drink with tsamba, whereas the Lolo use it to cook all their food, except ch'ao-mien which is edible when mixed with unboiled water. The I never drink tea or boiled water, but only unboiled water whenever thirsty. This practice is most unsanitary. /107/ At any rate, in the I family, the kuo-chuang is regarded as something sacred. Should one ignore this fact and step across the kuo-chuang in a moment of carelessness or perhaps hang wet stockings above it to dry, he would cause serious protest or even violence. Likewise, one must not violate the wooden cupboards placed against the back wall of the room.

The I are more advanced than the Tibetans in that they eat cooked food and have a more complete set of eating utensils. At least in this aspect of their living, they have been influenced by the Chinese. Aside from bowls they also use chopsticks and ma-shih-tzu (little round wooden spoons with long handles, used for mixing soup). They have an especially large iron pot, with a diameter of about three feet, which is used for cooking and placed over the kuo-chuang. It is bought from the Chinese for the I do not know how to smelt iron. They burn firewood in the huo-k'ang. But like the Chinese they know only how to cut down the forest, but not how to preserve and cultivate it. Since the large trees have already been felled in most of the areas, they now have to resort to picking up odd pieces of dried branches to burn as brushwood. Fuel supply has become a serious problem in the sparsely populated Liang-shan.